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THE AMERICAN WAR:

Facts and Fallacies.

A SPEECH,

DELIVERED BY

HANDEL COSSHAM, Esq.

AT THE

BROADMEAD ROOMS, BRISTOL,

On Friday, February 12, 1864.

New York:

BAKER & GODWIN, PRINTERS,

PRINTING-HOUSE SQUARE, OPPOSITE CITY HALL.

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To the Friends of Union in America.

THE following lecture was delivered in England during the progress of the great struggle that for four years has been engaging the attention of the world. It was designed to be a reply to some of the absurd arguments used by the pro-slavery press of England in favor of the South, and was not intended for circulation in this country; but, having been pressed by many of my American friends to reprint it, I have consented to do so, and now venture to lay it before the public on this side of the Atlantic, with an earnest hope that it may tend to promote peace and union between the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon race, and, with many congratulations on the final and complete overthrow of the Slaveholders' Rebellion,

I am, your obedient servant,

HANDEL COSSHAM.

NEW YORK, Sept. 7, 1865.

THE AMERICAN WAR: FACTS AND FALLACIES.

SPEECH

BY HANDEL COSSHAM, Esq.

ON Friday evening, February 12th, 1864, Mr. HANDEL COSSHAM delivered a Lecture at the Broadmead-rooms, under the auspices of the Bristol Emancipation Society, on "the Facts and Fallacies relative to the American War." The Chair was taken by Mr. H. O. WILLIS, and there was a crowded attendance. Amongst those present were the Rev. R. Morris, Rev. W. Jones, Mr. Jas. Wethered, Mr. Herbert Thomas, Mr. Saunders, Rev. T. Hacking, Mr. J. Harris, Rev. B. Jenkyn, Mr. W. Willis, Mr. J. Shipperley, Mr. Thomas Webster, Rev. W. Rose, Rev. H. Downs, Dr. Davy, Mr. John Hammond, Mr. G. Powell, and Mr. W. L. Harris.

The CHAIRMAN briefly introduced the Lecturer, who said :

My object to-night will be to place before you, in as condensed and clear a light as I can, the teachings and results of the present most unfortunate contest in America, and to call attention to some of the facts and fallacies which the discussion of the subject, during the last three years, has brought out ; and I think I shall not be presuming too much if I remark at the outset that we have had more mistakes made and more "unfulfilled prophecy" relative to the causes and probable results of the American war, than we have on any great subject of national interest during the last quarter of a century. The discussion of this question has developed an amount of ignorance relative to the feelings, history, resources, and government of the United States, that I confess I was not at all prepared for, and that is not

very creditable to those who profess to guide the opinions of the people of this country. Thanks, however, to the natural instincts of the English people, and the kind of instinctive perception of right and wrong there is among the great masses of our countrymen, there has been from the beginning a large proportion, and I believe with Earl Russell, a *large majority* of people, who have refused to give their sympathy and aid to the efforts of the Southern States of America to establish a separate Government, with *Slavery* as its distinctive feature, and human bondage as its "corner-stone."

I.

I think I shall not be wrong also in assuming, and in fact in asserting, that during the last twelve months there has been a vast change in public feeling on the question, and that there is at present much less sympathy felt in this country for the Southern Confederacy than there was; and also that there is much less confidence felt as to the ultimate success of the rebellion. I have never made any secret of the fact that, from beginning to end, my sympathy has been with the North, during the present struggle—of course I do not mean that I sympathize with every act of the North, or would attempt to justify all they have done or left undone—but I rejoice in the conviction that the infamous attempt to create a great slave empire has failed, and that for the future the Government of the United States will be in favor of Liberty, and against Slavery. There are two reasons why I have felt so strongly and spoken so earnestly on the subject.

1st. Because the South have never shown one tittle of legal or moral justification for this rebellion; they could not say they had been oppressed, for the Government had been for fifty years almost entirely in their own hands, and the whole policy of the country had been framed to meet their views and wishes. In fact, they had paid far less and received far more from the Government than the North.

II.

2d. Another reason why I have felt that the South was not entitled to our sympathy was, because they appealed from reason and constitutional law to bullets and bloodshed. They refused to submit their case to the arbitration of argument and public opinion, and resolved to plunge their country into all the horrors of civil war rather than allow the system, that is condemned by the almost universal con-

science of man, and the verdict of the whole civilized world, to be checked or confined. For the truth cannot be too frequently referred to, that, prior to the war, the North never claimed the right to touch Slavery. They admitted over and over again, that in the States where it existed it must go on, *until the majority in those States consented to its abolition*. This formed for years the great subject of controversy between the extreme Abolition party of the North, and the Republican party now in power. The Abolition section said, We claim the right for the Federal Government to deal with the subject of Slavery, and abolish it if they like in any State of the Union ; and if they have no such right then we prefer separation, and, in fact, secession. Politically, therefore, the secession doctrine of South Carolina, taught them by Calhoun, and the disunion doctrine held by Abolitionists, and taught them by Mr. Lloyd Garrison, were identical—morally, I admit they were as wide as the poles asunder—but politically, they were one ; and it is worth noticing that, up to the election of Mr. Lincoln, the party who talked most seriously about secession was the Abolition party of the North. So long, however, as the South held the reins of Government, they denied the legality of the Abolition doctrine of secession ; which brought great odium upon and prejudice against that party, because of their supposed anti-national feelings. The Republican party, who date back to the year 1848, on the other hand, held that Slavery was an evil, but one that could not be dealt with by the Federal Government, except for the purpose of preventing its extension, and by bringing moral influence to bear upon the slaveholders, trying to induce them to consent to some plan of gradual abolition that would give them a fair equivalent for their loss. The idea of the Republican party was *compensated emancipation* ; similar, in fact, to our own plan of abolition in the West Indies. The Republican party contended that, under the Constitution, Slavery was local and not national, and their object was to keep it local ; while the Southern party were always trying to make, and almost succeeded in making it national, and thus securing permanent support for it. Never let us forget that the Constitution of the United States never recognized Slavery as a *doctrine*. It recognized it, I admit, as a fact, and permitted its existence. It was recognized by the American Constitution the same as polygamy was in the Jewish religion ; permitted, but not engrafted on the system. It was like the *fungus* that sometimes grows upon a tree ; it fastens itself upon the tree and sucks life from it, but never becomes a

part and parcel of the tree itself. The word Slave or Slavery does not occur in the American Constitution; they have it "persons held to service:" this was not an accident, nor an oversight. The Fathers of the Republic held the truth that Slavery must die in presence of a republican government and popular liberty; and hence they adopted a form of expression that would as much refer to the condition of an apprentice, or a person hired for a term, as to that of a slave. The great men who laid the foundation of the American Government, saw the rock; they had not the courage or the power at that time boldly to uproot the system of Slavery; and they, therefore, tried to steer round the rock by using an expression when speaking of Slavery that should not help to make the system perpetual; so that the different States of America were, under the Constitution, able to deal with the question of Slavery, as they thought best. Hence, many of the Northern States that once held slaves, abolished the system; and they were able to do so, because Slavery was no part of the Constitution.

III.

But what has the South done in framing their new Constitution? They have made the institution of Slavery perpetual, and actually made it part of their Constitution that *no law impairing or denying the right of property in slaves shall be passed*. This is the great, and I may almost say, the *only* material difference between the old Constitution of the United States and that adopted by the Confederate States. It is clear, therefore, that the ground of secession and the reason for separation is Slavery, and Slavery alone.

But it is time I should refer to a few of the fallacies that have been attempted to be palmed upon the people of this country during the struggle, and

I.

We have been told that "the South are fighting for freedom and independence." A little reflection will, I think, show this to be a fallacy. What liberty had they ever been denied by the Union? Had they not liberty to speak, write, and vote as they liked? Is it not a fact that for years they held the reins of government of the Union? Were not most of the Presidents of the Union chosen from the South? And those who were elected from the North, were they not the tools and instruments in the hands of Southern slaveholders? What liberty, I ask again, was denied the South? They not only voted

themselves but for their slaves in the proportion of three votes for five slaves. Prior to secession, in what part of the country was there most liberty? Was it in the North or in the South? In the North, there was a free press, a free platform, free education, and a free pulpit; but in the South no man's life was worth twenty-four hours' purchase who dared to denounce Slavery. In which section of the country are there free schools and an educated working population? I grant you that in the South the wealthy classes have been educated; but I also assert that there *the masses have been doomed to ignorance and neglect*. The White population—"mean Whites," as they were arrogantly styled by the slavocracy—were cheated of intelligence and the Blacks were robbed of their rights; and yet, in face of these facts, we are told that the South are fighting for *liberty* and independence. Yes, they are fighting for the same liberty that highwaymen and robbers would fight for—the right to rob those who are less powerful than themselves. The liberty for which the South are fighting is the liberty to live by the labor of others. They hate labor, and despise those who work; while in the North industry is honored, labor is recognized and rewarded. The North live by *their own labor*: the South by the labor of unpaid, brutalized, and ill-used slaves.

This aspect of the question appeals to the working-classes in all countries. If the South had succeeded in establishing and extending their accursed system of human bondage, they would have placed a brand upon industry, and helped to degrade labor in every part of the world. Our own working men of the North have seen this from the beginning; and hence they have, from the first nobly said they would rather suffer than that labor should be degraded. I repeat, the liberty for which the South are fighting is the liberty to tyrannize over, to brutalize, and to degrade those who labor; and yet *this* is the cause, and these are the objects, that a large number of our public men, and a still larger number of our public writers, ask us to sympathize with and support. The liberty that the South want is the same as King Bomba wanted, and the same that the Pope and Russia want to-day—the liberty to oppress and to degrade. Away with such liberty! and away, too, with such teaching! and in its place let us help to plant the tree of liberty brought from Heaven by the Divine founder of our holy religion, and embodied in that glorious charter of human rights—"As ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

II.

I am told by some that the only objects for which the North are fighting are dominion and the Union; that they are not fighting at all to put down Slavery. I admit, without reserve, that the abolition of Slavery *was not the avowed object of the war*; it could not be; it would have been illegal, and, I believe, it would have been immoral to try to abolish Slavery by war. I have no idea that we ought to attempt to do good by using means that are in themselves *evil*; but I do contend that every government is bound to enforce its laws and to maintain its authority. No government has a right to allow armed resistance to its laws, and especially when those laws are the result of popular opinion. There may be some disadvantages connected with republican government based on universal suffrage, but at any rate it has one advantage: No man can say that he is not at liberty to give practical effect to his opinions, and to exert all the influence to which he is entitled over the laws and institutions of his country.

If the South held the doctrine of secession as a fixed principle, how is it that they did not apply the principle prior to Mr. Lincoln's election? Why did they, in November, 1860, use their utmost power, and put forth all their strength, to elect a Southern President? Does any man in his senses believe there would have been any secession if either of the Southern candidates had been elected? No, let the truth be told, that the South did not secede till they *were beaten by a popular vote*; that they used all the power that the constitution gave them to secure an executive favorable to Slavery, and, failing in that resolve, they resisted by force a government elected by the people that had done them no wrong; for secession was a *fait accompli* before the Republican party were in power, or had done a single *act*, or passed a single *law*. No oppression, no injustice, no wrong can be alleged; all the South can urge in justification of the crime they committed against their country and humanity, is that they failed in the attempt to elect a President favorable to the extension of Slavery.

Was the North justified in trying to uphold the constitution and laws of their country? Mind, I am not now asking whether it would have been better for them to try and make some arrangement, and allow the South to go; that may be a point worthy of inquiry; and such is my love of peace, that, had I been a citizen of the States, I think I should have counseled peaceful secession rather than war. But

that is not the point; I have no right to expect the American Government to do what I know our own would not do. Will you tell me what portion of the British Empire you would allow to secede peaceably? Would you allow India to secede? The war of 1857, with all its bloody atrocities and cruelties, is an answer to that. Would you allow Ireland to secede? She has repeatedly wanted to do so; she has at any rate serious grounds of complaint—in an absent proprietary, a starving and gradually diminishing population, a state church forced upon the people contrary to the will of the great majority. These are real grievances and wrongs. But suppose Ireland, on the ground of these wrongs, asks to secede, what is your reply? Why that Ireland is an integral part of this country; that, if it wants any alterations made in its laws and institutions, it must take the constitutional course for obtaining those alterations; and that any attempt to secede will be met with the whole armed force of the country—Would you allow the counties south of the Thames to secede?—and if they attempted to do so, do you think our government would use no force to prevent it? Now I contend that India, or Ireland, or the Southern Counties of England, have just as much legal right to secede, as the Southern States of America. I am sure I am not misinterpreting the feeling and sentiment of the English government and people in saying this;—and further, I would assist the Government in its determination to put down *rebellion*. I would do all I could to counsel conciliation, by the removal of all proved grievances and wrongs; but I believe it to be for the interest of all that there should be no armed resistance to the authority of government and the supremacy of law. Though I am, as you are aware, opposed to the union of Church and State, if there was any attempt to break that Union *by force*, I would oppose it to the utmost of my power, and should uphold the Government in their efforts to suppress such a rebellion. On such grounds, I stand here to-night to maintain the right of the American Government to uphold their authority and to maintain in its integrity their country. They are, as you say, fighting for the *Union*; but what does the Union mean? It means the right of self-government; it means freedom of speech, freedom of the press, the exaltation of labor, and I rejoice to add, the liberation and recognition of the manhood of four millions of degraded slaves. In the maintenance of such a Union I rejoice, and pray that God may prosper it.

III.

But I may be told that it is impossible—that there can be Union for

the future, seeing that such a state of antagonism and ill-feeling has been produced by the war. Now I grant that, if this was a war of the whole people of the North against the whole population of the South, there would be much force in the argument; but a moment's reflection will teach you that such is not the fact, and that the very opposite is much nearer the truth. Let me ask you to consider, first, that the territory now held by the South, and which I rejoice to add is barely two-thirds of what they held three years ago—the area held by the Confederates in 1861 being over 800,000 square miles, with a free population of six and a half millions, and a slave population of three and a half millions, but now they only hold a territory of 500,000 square miles, a free population of a little over two millions, and a slave population of two and a half millions—in this territory, under the iron despotism and crushing tyranny of the Southern Confederacy, there is now nearly as large a population of slaves as of free-men. I wonder whether *they are in favor of secession!* Do you think it likely that they would vote for the perpetuation of human bondage and a Confederacy founded on Slavery? Then, if not, what becomes of your notion that there is a United South? How can it be said that the North are trying to oppress the South, when the advance of the Federal flag carries liberty to half the population and “the opening of prison-doors to those who are bound?”

But, again,—is it true that even the *White* population of the South are united in favor of secession? If so, how is it that, after Mr. Lincoln's election, every State in the South voted against secession except South Carolina? I stand here to assert that such was the fact, and that the Southern candidate that was in favor of Union and Slavery received a much larger vote than the candidate that was in favor of secession. Nay, more,—I stand here to assert that several of the Southern States were coerced into secession, and that the lives of many of the State governors and members of the State Legislatures were threatened if they did not vote in favor of secession. The argument of the South has generally been the bludgeon and the bowie-knife; and they used both freely to bring about secession. And, further, notwithstanding all the attempts to suppress the truth, and to prevent the spread of information, we hear, coming up from various parts of the South, sounds that do not look much like entire union in the doctrine of secession. It seems very likely that North Carolina will secede from secession, and that, unless the South makes terms with the North, they will very soon make the best terms they can on their own account. The honest and manly

confession of Gen. Gantt, of Arkansas, lately a General in the Confederate army, is very significant: he admits that he took up the sword to extend Slavery, and thought the North would not contest the point; but that now he sees the cause of the South is hopeless and Slavery doomed,—and further, let me ask you to note that wherever the Northern armies have gone they have received, comparatively, no opposition from the native population. Missouri, Kentucky, Western Virginia, Tennessee, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Louisiana, have mainly been cleared of Confederate armies: and what is the result? Why, that a feeling is at once evoked in favor of Union; and I am also glad to say in favor of *abolition*. Such, then, being the facts, I contend that there is no ground for the assertion that the whole population of the South are in favor of secession, and that they can only be held in subjection by military rule.

I assert again, the only cause of quarrel between the two sections of the country is Slavery; remove *that*, and there will be *Union*. The whole interest of the country is in favor of Union and peace, and Union without Slavery will be a reality and not a sham.

IV.

Another fallacy that has been rather popular in this country, is that the cause of the slave would be benefited, and the doom of Slavery would be rendered more certain, by separation. Those who thus argue tell us that the Union has covered and protected Slavery in the past, that colored people are despised and ill-treated in the North, and that the only chance they have of freedom is by the separation of the North and South. I think there are many persons who sincerely hold this opinion, though by what process of reasoning they have come to such a conclusion I confess I am at a loss to understand. Suppose I admit, for the sake of argument, that separation would induce the North to repeal the fugitive-slave law (it has been practically repealed there for some years): Suppose they opened their arms to every slave that crossed the border and placed the protection of their flag over the fugitive. Let me ask you to think how this would operate upon the condition of the slave. First, how much more rigid would be the supervision that would be exercised over him! How closely he would be watched! What thousands would be murdered in the attempt to escape! The whole of the Border States would be filled with blood-hounds, and man-hunters, always watching for their prey; and then again, how unhappy would be the

condition of the poor fugitive when he got North! Naturalized as he is to a Southern climate, it would be like exposing a tender tropical plant to the bleak winds and nipping frosts of the frigid zone. The proper home, the natural residence, of the Black population is South; and I believe that, instead of separation leading to greater freedom to the negro race, it would lead to their destruction.

And let me also ask you to remember that separation would imply large standing armies on both sides, each watching the other. This would necessitate a vastly increased system of taxation, and a consequent advance on the cost and price of all the productions of America, which would be nothing more nor less than a tax upon all the nations of Europe now dependent upon America for raw materials.

You ask why could there not be separation and peace? And my reply is, because the two sections would have two entirely distinct and separate social systems. It is possible for nations to adopt different *political* systems and live at peace. You may have a monarchical government on one side of a line, and a republican government on the other, without war, or even without that friction and irritation that too often lead to war. But you cannot have two systems side by side, divided only by a line drawn on paper, so utterly at variance as Freedom and Slavery, without constant war. There are no natural geographical divisions, no great mountain ranges or broad seas to divide them; but Slavery and Freedom, standing side by side, always in collision, always rubbing one against the other. I say without hesitation that, so long as human nature is what it is, it would be impossible to have a state of things like that without leading to constant war.

But I am told that the South would abolish Slavery if let alone. Where is the proof of it, I ask? Are they not at this moment hesitating about the exchange of prisoners, because they refuse to treat colored men as prisoners of war? Do they not persistently refuse to treat as a man, every human being with a black skin? Is it not a fact, that they either shoot in cold blood or sell into brutal bondage, every colored soldier they can catch? and that they have openly proclaimed their intention to shoot, or hang, every officer who dares lead a black regiment in the field? Are these the evidences upon which you rely, to prove the disposition of the South to abolish Slavery? If so, you are, I confess, rather gullible.

Another fallacy that has been popular during the discussion of the American war, has been this :—*That the country was too large, and that it would be better for England and the world, that there should be a separation.* I think this feeling has been widely entertained, and has greatly helped to produce that moral squint relative to the American question, that I am here to-night to try to counteract. In reply to this fallacy, allow me first to remind you, that the policy of America in the past has not been an aggressive policy ; while I believe they could and would defy the world in vindication of their own rights and national honor, yet they are weak and comparatively powerless for aggressive warfare ; and therefore, their growth and prosperity was no menace to Europe. Prior to the outburst of the present war, their army and navy were so small that they could only be regarded as a police force, and could be no object of dread to other nations. Allow me to remind you, that the whole army they could legally have prior to secession, only consisted of 25,000 men, and the real numbers they had at command were only 18,000 ; and further, it is well known that their traditional policy, from the time that they became a nation, has been to avoid all interference with the affairs of other nations. They have been especially careful to avoid, and I think wisely so, entangling themselves in the affairs of Europe ; their motto has been—*Trade with all, but alliance with none* ; and hence, for the past seventy-five years, no one can say that American growth, or American prosperity, has endangered the peace of the world.

But there is another side to this question I should like to call your attention to, and that is, that any aggressive policy that has been developed in the history of America, such as the dishonest annexation of Texas, and the conduct of the American government toward Mexico, has been the result of Southern and not Northern policy. The North has always been against the acquisition of fresh territory ; the South has been favorable to it. The fact is, that Slavery so impoverishes a country that it needs a constant accession of land in order to allow the infernal system to spread. If you hedge round Slavery, it is like putting a bowl over a light : it soon dies out. To tie a cord round it is to strangle it ; and to circumscribe it is to stop up its breathing-hole and stifle the reptile. Sympathy with the South, therefore, means sympathy with the party, and the only party in America, in favor of an aggressive policy, and, therefore, of the only

policy likely to be prejudicial to the interests of England and the world.

But I also want you to remember that Slavery is prejudicial to the interests of commerce and of our own prosperity. What, let me ask, is it that we want now to raise England higher in the scale of nations? *We want more customers for our manufactures, and more demand for the products of our industry.* We have the skill, the capital, the raw material, to manufacture, double, treble, ay, quadruple the quantity we now produce; but we lack markets and customers. And how is our market to be extended and cultivated? Remember, there are no more continents to be discovered; no more nations to be found; and *we must increase our market by promoting a higher civilization and a higher social status*; for, as you raise men, you create wants that help to promote commerce and extend trade. The savage and the slave require but little of the commerce of the world to supply their wants. They have no ambition and no wants, except those of a mere animal kind; and to keep them in this condition is to rob the world of some of its best customers and society of prosperity.

The success of the South means the perpetual degradation of a whole race, and the robbing England and the world of the advantage which would certainly arise from the civilization and uplifting of the African race. Two-thirds of the population of the South have been in times past so degraded and brutalized that their wants were "like angel's visits, few and far between:" a little shoddy, some whips, a few cat-o'-nine-tails, some tar-brushes, handcuffs, chains and blood-hounds, made up the total requirements of the South. Separation and secession mean the perpetuation of this wrong; Union means its destruction: and therefore I contend that the commercial interest of England is bound up with Union and Abolition. Let the poor slaves of America become free; let the "mean White" population learn to labor and to support themselves by honest industry; and then we shall have a new race of customers springing up to create a demand for our manufactures, and to enrich us by their commercial relations.

VI.

But I am told that we should sympathize with the cause of the South, because they are for *free trade*, while the North are for protection. The friends of the South in this country have even gone so far as to assert that the war had its origin in protective duties and

absurd tariffs. I am happy to be in a position to give that statement a most unqualified denial, and I venture to challenge any of the pro-slavery party in this country, from Mr. Spence of Liverpool, who has been specially retained, at a heavy fee, to plead the 'cause of the South, down to Lord Wharncliffe, who is the President of the so-called "Southern Independence Association," to point out one tariff imposed prior to the secession of the South by the votes of Northern statesmen, against the will of the Southern statesmen. Nay, more: I stand here to assert, and if necessary to prove, that even the restrictive tariffs that have been unwisely, as I believe, imposed by the Government of America, have been imposed by a majority of Southern votes, and against a minority of Northern ones, as the following facts will show. The following are the votes of the Congress on the various tariff bills, and show that the South might have prevented any of these measures from becoming law, had they wished to do so:

Tariff of 1789, passed unanimously.

Tariff of 1790—House of Representatives, Northern, 18 yeas, 12 nays; Southern, 22 yeas, 8 nays—18, 42. Senate unanimous.

Tariff of 1792—House of Representatives, Northern, 26 yeas, 4 nays; Southern, 11 yeas, 16 nays—26, 31. Senate unanimous.

Tariff of 1794—House of Representatives and Senate unanimous.

Tariff of 1797—House of Representatives, Northern, 39 yeas, 10 nays; Southern, 27 yeas, 11 nays—39, 48. Senate unanimous.

Tariff of 1804—House of Representatives unanimous. Senate, Northern, 8 yeas, 5 nays; Southern, 12 yeas, 0 nays—8, 17.

War Tariff of 1812—House of Representatives, Northern, 35 yeas, 33 nays; Southern, 41 yeas, 15 nays—35, 89. Senate, Northern, 10 yeas, 6 nays; Southern, 12 yeas, 4 nays—10, 22.

Manufacturing Tariff of 1816—House of Representatives, Northern, 63 yeas, 15 nays; Southern 25 yeas, 39 nays—63, 79. *N. B.* J. C. Calhoun voted for. Senate unanimous.

Tariff of 1824—House of Representatives, Northern, 86 yeas, 32 nays; Southern, 19 yeas, 70 nays—86, 121. Senate unanimous.

Tariff of 1828—House of Representatives, Northern, 88 yeas, 29 nays; Southern, 17 yeas, 65 nays—88, 111. Senate, Northern, 19 yeas, 4 nays; Southern, 6 yeas, 17 nays—19, 27.

Tariff of 1832—House of Representatives, Northern, 73 yeas, 35 nays; Southern, 49 yeas, 30 nays—73, 114. Senate, Northern, 23 yeas, 1 nay; Southern, 9 yeas, 15 nays—23, 25.

Compromise Tariff of 1833—House of Representatives, Northern,

35 yeas, 81 nays; Southern, 84 yeas, 4 nays—35, 169. Senate, Northern, 10 yeas, 13 nays; Southern, 19 yeas, 3 nays—10, 35.

Tariff of 1842—House of Representatives, Northern, 89 yeas, 28 nays; Southern, 16 yeas, 75 nays—89, 119. Senate, Northern, 19 yeas, 5 nays; Southern, 5 yeas, 18 nays—19, 28.

Reduction Tariff of 1846—House of Representatives, Northern, 50 yeas, 73 nays; Southern, 64 yeas, 22 nays. Senate, Northern, 10 yeas, 16 nays; Southern, 18 yeas, 11 nays.

Reduction Tariff of 1857—House of Representatives, Northern, 60 yeas, 65 nays; Southern, 63 yeas, 7 nays. Senate, Northern, 14 yeas, 9 nays; Southern, 19 yeas, 3 nays.

Increased Tariff of 1861 (Morrill) was voted *after* several of the Southern States had seceded; and therefore was the consequence and not the cause of secession.

I think it is abundantly plain, from the above indisputable facts, that the South might at any period, have prevented the passing of any of the tariff measures, if so disposed. I readily admit that the North has been too much under the influence of the delusion, which, by-the-by, was rather popular in this country twenty years ago, that protective duties help to strengthen and stimulate those branches of industry protected. The iron and wool manufacturers of the North have always been, and for aught I know, are still, blindly and foolishly in favor of protection. But I have it on authority, which I have no right to question, that, prior to the outbreak of the present war, the North were fast *progressing toward free trade doctrines*; and that the restoration of the Union, so far from retarding the advance of free trade in America, will help to realize, what I am sure we all desire, namely, entire freedom of interchange between America and the rest of the world; so that the raw materials which that country can produce to such an enormous extent, may be exchanged for the manufactured goods of other nations. What becomes, then, of the argument in favor of recognizing the South, that has been attempted to be palmed upon us on free trade grounds? I think you will agree with me that any argument founded on such misapprehension and error, is undeserving the attention of thoughtful, reflective, and truth-loving men.

VII.

There is another fallacy relative to the American question, which I must really apologize for troubling you with. It is so manifestly absurd, that I wonder that even Lord Wharncliffe could have

been guilty of referring to it. That I may not misrepresent the matter, I will state the objections in his lordship's own words. "The South," said his lordship some time ago, at one of those hole-and-corner meetings which seem to best suit the advocates of a government based on Slavery, "*The South had hitherto labored under the imputation that they by their proceedings were tending to support the existence of slavery*; and this," adds his lordship, "is an impression which they ought to be careful to remove." I quite agree with his lordship: There is this impression pretty generally entertained. I plead guilty to the imputation of believing that the "*tendency of the South is to support Slavery*;" and I base that opinion upon the facts—

1st. That they have, or lately had, four millions of slaves in their midst; that, in order to retain them as slaves, they denied to them the rights of citizenship, doomed them to ignorance, treated them with barbarity and cruelty, and did all they could to lower and debase them.

2d. I declare it as my belief that to extend and perpetuate this system, with all its hateful concomitants, the South rebelled against the constitution and laws of their country, and involved their nation in one of the most barbarous and wicked wars of modern times; and,

3d. I contend that, during the progress of the war, the South has persistently refused every measure tending toward the freedom of their slaves. Are they not now refusing to exchange prisoners, because the North insists that black soldiers shall be treated as prisoners of war, and neither be sold into slavery, nor shot in cold blood? I honor the North for resolving to compel the South to do this. If they employ colored men in their armies, they are bound, in honor, to extend over them such protection and care as the rules of war permit.

With these facts before me, then, I admit that it *does* look to me as though the South has "a tendency to support Slavery." When I hear that they have ceased to fight in defence of Slavery; when I hear that they show any signs of being willing to loosen their grasp on the victims of their oppression; when they open their country even to the *discussion* of the subject of Slavery; and when they repeal that clause in their constitution forbidding the right to prohibit Slavery in future; when, I say, they do this, then I shall gladly admit that the "tendency" of the South is not to Slavery but to freedom. But, till then, the South must bear all the odium that attaches to a people fighting in defence of the most infamous system that Satan ever

devised--and Lord Wharncliffe, and those who support him, must not wonder if their names go down to posterity as the names of men who, by their words and deeds, did all they could to rivet on the necks of an oppressed race more firmly the chains of Slavery--and to give nationality and perpetuality to a system condemned by Christianity, by reason, and by the almost universal conscience of the world.

While making these remarks and speaking thus strongly on the sin, as I think it, of aiding and sympathizing with the South, let me say most distinctly that I have no wish to see the South injured or crushed. From my heart I believe the South has suffered more from Slavery than the North. The North has suffered in moral character; but the South has suffered in commercial prosperity as well as character; for, remember, while Slavery may have enriched a *few*, it has impoverished and degraded the many. I believe if Slavery is abolished, the South will realize a state of prosperity equal to that realized by the North in the past. I believe that those are the real friends of the South, as well as the best friends of humanity, who labor to convince even the prejudiced minds of slaveholders, that they are hugging the viper that is feeding upon their vitals, and destroying their national life.

Let me here call your attention to a point not sufficiently noticed: namely, that there are certain States of the South only interested in Slavery *incidentally* and *remotely*, such as the States of Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, part of Tennessee, and North Carolina. These are all *farming* and slave-breeding States. They have no plantations, or, at any rate, very few, cultivated by slaves. They breed slaves for sale to the more Southern States of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas and Arkansas. The plantation States are in favor, and have always been in favor, of the African Slave-Trade. The former, on the other hand, are opposed to that trade, because it would tend to knock down the value of human stock. The Gulf States contend that it is very hard upon them to be obliged to pay from \$1,000 to \$1,500 for slaves from neighboring States, when they might get as good from Africa for \$50 or ; and here I must remark, that I believe the importation of slaves from Virginia and other States is more cruel, more wicked, and is attended with more horror than the importation of slaves from Africa. *When you bring them from Africa, you bring them from a savage state:* they have had none of the tender sympathies awakened that contact with civilization and religion is sure to

engender. The slaves sent south from Virginia and other States, have many of them joined Christian churches, formed social ties, and cultivated strong personal attachments. These are all rudely severed and broken by the severance of parents from children, and husbands from wives: Virginia alone generally breeds and sends South 10,000 slaves a year, and sometimes receives ten million dollars a year for their human cattle. Only think of the idea of breeding human beings, for whom Christ died, to sell! What language can I use strong enough to denounce such a trade? Any how, can I help speaking strongly relative to the conduct of those who are trying to betray us into a partnership in crime, with those who are endeavoring to perpetuate the wrong?

VIII.

There is another fallacy which I must refer to, or I shall be accused of failing to face the strongest point raised by the pro-slavery party. Mr. Lincoln, they say, *is not sincere*; he cares nothing for the slave, and only takes up the cause of the slave from political motives. Well, suppose I admit all this, for the sake of argument: what then? Are we to refuse to sympathize with a great object because some of the men who support it are not sincere? Would you ask me to sympathize with protection, because some of the men who advocated free trade did it from selfish motives? I think not.

Remember, this is not a question dependent on Mr. Lincoln's sincerity or otherwise: *it is an antagonism between systems, not men*. Whatever Mr. Lincoln may say, or do, will not affect materially the issue. If the North prevails, Slavery falls; and if the South prevails, Freedom falls. That is the real point at issue. Disguise it as we may, evade it as we may, sympathy with the South means sympathy with human oppression, sympathy with the overthrow of constitutional government and law. It means sympathy with tyranny in its worst forms, and wrong in its most hideous aspects.

But I am far from admitting that Lincoln is not sincere. Where is the proof of his insincerity? Every act of his official life has proved him to be true to his promises, true to the principles of his party, and above all, true to the interests of the slave: he has grown in Anti-Slavery faith since his accession to office—he has not done like some Governments I could name, climbed into office under the pretense of zeal for certain principles, and then turned round and kicked those principles over—he has not receded one step in the

Anti-Slavery path in which he and the Republican party are walking ; on the contrary, he and his party are evidently growing in the conviction, 1st. That Slavery is the cause of all their national troubles ; and, 2nd. That there will be no peace, no Union, and no prosperity, till Slavery is entirely eradicated and uprooted.

IX.

Allow me to refer to another fallacy we often hear on this subject, namely, that the condition of the colored men in the North is as bad as that of the slaves in the South. I regret to say that, on several occasions, our senior member of Parliament, Mr. Berkeley, has given utterance to this statement. But I venture to say that, if the honorable member would try Slavery in the South during one of the Parliamentary recesses, he would return a wiser, and on this question, a better man. It is the old story our fathers had a fight over thirty years ago. We were told then that the slave was better off as a slave than he would be free.

I am not here to say that the conduct of the Northern people in times past has been all that it should have been toward the Black race. It has often been wanton and wicked. It is one of the sad catalogue of evils resulting from Slavery that, if you degrade a race by oppression, you make them odious in the eyes of their oppressors ;—this has been illustrated in a sad way by the treatment of the colored people in the North in past times.

But, though the North is not yet perfect in its treatment of colored people, it is progressing toward a practical recognition of the truth “ that God has made of one blood all nations.”

The riots at New York are pointed to as an illustration of Northern treatment of the man of color. Why it would be as fair to charge upon us the results of the Bristol riots of 1832, as to charge upon the people of New York the sad results of the late outrages there. Those riots were got up by Southern sympathizers, and stimulated by Southern money. I regret to say that the most prominent actors in the affair were Irishmen ; and it is notorious that no class in America have such an antipathy to colored people as the *Irish*. They hate them with a perfect hatred, and are almost to a man in favor of Slavery, because they think that the result of abolition would be to bring the Black race North to compete with them in the labor market ; whereas the very opposite would probably be the result. The Black people now in the North would most probably go South, where the climate and work best suit their constitutions and habits.

But let me ask you to note how New York acted, directly the riots were suppressed. They at once collected 50 000 dollars to relieve the distress caused by the riots among the colored people; the lawyers, to their honor be it spoken, combining to offer to make good all claims for compensation on the part of the poor Blacks for property lost by the riots, free of charge. Lawyers really do so little without a fee, that I refer to this as a peculiar illustration of benevolence and right feeling. Does this look as though the condition of free Blacks in the North was worse than that of slaves in the South, as asserted by Mr. Berkeley? The honorable member knows, or ought to know, that no colored man dares to own property in the South. He does not own his wife; he does not own his children; he dares not even own himself. On the contrary, in the North, the same laws protect both; the same schools, with few exceptions, are open to both; the same protection, now that the North is free from Southern influence, is afforded to both. I admit it has not always been so, but I assert *that it is so now* to an almost universal extent. In New York alone, property of the value of ten millions of dollars is owned by colored people; and they are constantly increasing in wealth. Mr. Fred. Douglass, a colored gentleman, is now in the service of the United States Government; and the same Government has resolved to compel the South to recognize the equality of colored soldiers, or else to decline any further exchange of prisoners. This does not look as though Freedom in the North was as bad as Slavery in the South.

I have no doubt that the change from Slavery to Freedom will be attended with suffering. The path to the Promised Land lay through a wilderness of discipline; and so the negro race in America are being brought through the *Red Sea* of war and a wilderness of sorrow into the land of freedom and prosperity.

X.

Let me refer to one more fallacy, and I have done. Oh! say some of our public teachers, *this horrible war*, how dreadful it is! when will it end? Gentlemen, I need not say, I have no sympathy with war; but the inconsistency is, that this cry comes chiefly from those who defended every war in which we have engaged for the last twenty years—Indian wars, China wars, Russian wars, Japanese wars, New Zealand wars, &c., &c. It does look to me almost ridiculous to hear such gentlemen hold up their hands in horror of war in

America, when they always defend war at home. War is almost the greatest calamity that can befall a country; and I will also add that those who involve countries in war, deserve the execration of all who love God and humanity.

Let me ask you, who began this American war? It was not the North; it was the South. They fired the first shot at Fort Sumter; they appealed from reason to bloodshed; and now, having taken the sword to defend Slavery—I say, as “Slavery took the sword, let it perish by the sword;” and perish it will. I am not a prophet; but I venture to predict that the Southern rebellion is digging a grave that will forever bury this accursed system; and I also believe another result will follow the war, that some of the enemies of Progress and Reform in this country intensely dread; and that is, *the complete and entire reconstruction of the Union.*

I now leave the subject with you. I speak warmly, because I feel deeply on the question. I confess I am pained to see a want of sympathy between this country and America. There are men, and organs of public opinion, on both sides of the Atlantic, who seem bent upon setting, if possible, these two great Anglo-Saxon nations at variance and war. Gentlemen, I protest against this course. No man can commit a greater crime against both countries than to misrepresent them, and thus help to produce discord and strife. We ought to try and keep peace with the world. But we ought especially to try and keep peace with America; and America ought to do the same with England. There must be no strife between us: we are brethren.

What I ask, then, to-night, is perfect and absolute neutrality on the part of our Government. I do not ask that our Government should lend a particle of material aid to the North; and I protest against their rendering the slightest to the South. Our motto should be, Neutrality from the Government, and moral sympathy for the North from ourselves in the great struggle in which they are engaged. [Great applause.]

Dr. DAVY proposed, and the Rev. T. HACKING seconded, a vote of thanks to the lecturer, who, in responding, proposed a similar compliment on behalf of the Chairman.

An individual from the middle of the room said that he had lived in the States for fifteen years, and he could endorse Mr. Cossham's statements.



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